UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**

Senator Borah on the Recognition of Russia

Across the Pacific

By SYDNEY STRONG

A Bostonian in Germany

By EMIL AHLBORN

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES *: Editors :* FRANCIS NEILSON

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXIX. THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1922 Number 16

DREAMERS.

Dreamers, I met you passing through the lonely streets. You spoke to me of Freedom, of men released from the drudgery and grind of daily toil. You spoke to me of great cities where all might come for knowledge. You spoke of chaining the mountain torrents, the seas, that men might use more of Nature's power and save his own for great creations. These things were real to you. And you spend your life in making them real for mankind.

Dreamers, I met you passing through the great highway. You spoke to me of Freedom, of men made free through the unchaining of their fettered minds. You spoke of men and women freed from soul destroying slavery, that they might give their intellects and hearts to bring mankind its long sought peace and freedom. Daily you help some new soul find the highway.

Dreamers, you showed my lonely soul great vistas. I took your dreams and wove them into my own being. .I wished to build your dreams, for these became my children my very own.

But I cannot follow you through the labyrinth of knowledge that will chain the waterfalls. I do not comprehend your measurements of power and strength.

And though I might do as great a work in loosening the bonds which hold men down, you will build your dream alone.

Oh, Dreamers, I have given you light and comfort on your lonely path. I have given you my all that you might find solace and peace and a moment of ecstasy. I do not wish to hold you; that would destroy the thing for which I gave myself—your dreams.

Go, Pilgrims, build your visions.

Selma Maximon.

News of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Coronado coal case comes to hand just as we are going to press. The importance of this decision cannot be overestimated; for the first time, trades unions can be held liable for strike damages, sued in the courts, their funds attached, and their power, therefore, utterly destroyed. On the face of things, it would seem as though this were the heaviest blow ever dealt to labor organizations—so heavy, indeed, as to be fatal. We find ourselves wondering, however, if in the end this decision will not be beneficent in its effects! We have long been of the opinion that the strike, as a weapon of industrial emancipation, is as wasteful and futile practically as it is unethical theoretically. If, now, this decision of the Supreme Court works to the end of turning labor away from the strike to independent political and economic action, it will be one of the best things that ever happened. Turn the trade union into a political party on the one hand and a co-operative society on the other, and the liberation of labor will no longer be far-distant!

We are sorry that anybody should ever think that we are hostile to any particular country in this unhappy world. So far as we can analyze our own feelings, we cherish nothing but friendliness and deep pity for all peoples everywhere to-day. Take England, for example! What do we think of, first of all, when England, or Great Britain, is mentioned? Why, that lovely countryside through which we traveled in 1913, the loveliest that our eyes have ever seen. Then the lake country—Windermere, Grasmere, Keswick—a bit of Paradise on earth. Then Edinburgh, most beautiful and romantic of cities, and London, with its famous streets, churches and literary shrines, its Westminster Abbey, British Museum and National Art Gallery. Then we think of garden cities, like Letchworth, of model factories, like Bourneville and Port Sunlight, of university towns, especially "the spires of Oxford." Then the English tongue, and the literature of England, as supreme in modern times as the literature of Athens was supreme in ancient times. What a galaxy of names—Shakespeare, Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth, Browning, Tennyson, Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, Fielding, Smollett, Gibbon, Burke, Carlyle, Ruskin, and the incomparable moderns, Hardy, Shaw, Wells, Bennett, Galsworthy, Kipling and Masefield! Then we think of the great tradition of English liberalism with the immortal names of Mill, Gladstone, Cobden and Bright, Herbert Spencer, Leslie Stephen and John Morley. Then the evolutionists come to mind—Darwin, Wallace, Huxley—the men who changed the thought of the entire world for all time. To-day we hail the British Labor Party, the greatest constructive force in the politics of the western world. Then we find ourselves breaking into song for England—chanting Houseman's "1887" in his "A Shropshire Lad," Kipling's "The English Flag," and Henley's "England, My England." Hate England? Yes, English toryism, English im-

perialism, English militarism! But England, the English land, the English people, the English culture and civilization? If I forget these, let my right hand forget her cunning.

Or take France! This country we do not know, as we know England, but France means very wonderful things to us all the same. First of all, in literature, the great poets, dramatists, and incomparable novelists. Then, more especially, the great leaders of the Illumination in the eighteenth century—Rousseau, Diderot, Holbach, and especially Voltaire, whose name says Morley, in his biography, is not that of a man any more, but of a great epoch of human liberation. Then we think of the Revolution, and all that vast tidal flow of social emancipation of which it was the source. France means to us great music—the operas of Gounod, Bizet and Carpentier, the symphonies of Berlioz, Saint-Saens, the Caesar Franck, the new harmonies of D'Indy and Debussey. She means great art—to us, especially, Rodin and his "Le Penseur." She means Edmond Rostand, who captured our youth with "Cyrano"—Jaurès, greatest of modern tribunes of the people, foully slain on the eve of the Great War—Romain Rolland, that pure universal spirit, shining like a lustrous star "above the battle" of distracted Europe, pointing fixedly the way to peace. Be hostile to France? Yes—to her Clemenceaus, Tardieus and Poincarés, to her militarists and chauvinists from the least even unto the greatest! We should be faithless to all ideals of humanity, did we not denounce the present policies of a government which betrays the Republic and Europe together. But France, "la belle France"—home of liberty, shrine of beauty—for her we have naught but love and adoration. "Vive la France"—the true France—has been ever our cry.

And Germany! We know nothing of the Germany of the Kaiser, Hindenburg and Stinnes—save to hate it and despise it. Germany, to us, means something far different from anything even remotely suggested by these abhorrent names. First of all, to us at least—music! Think of the names—Bach, Beethoven, Weber, Schumann, Schubert, Liszt, Wagner, Brahms, Strauss, Humperdinck—the most glorious creators in all the history of the divinest of all the arts! Next, Germany means to us Weimar, and that triad of immortal names, Goethe, Schiller and Lessing. Then we find our mind wandering back to the Reformation, and the heroic tale of Luther and the Diet of Worms. Then, with no logical consistency or chronological consistency at all, our mind leaps down to modern times, and German triumphs in science (Haeckel, Roentgen, Einstein), philosophy (Hegel, Pfleiderer, Eucken), Biblical criticism (Wellhausen, Harnack), the drama (Sudermann, Hauptmann), municipal government and social welfare legislation. Hate Germany? As little as we can hate England, or France, or any other country! We love them all for the truth that they have found, the beauty that they have created, the good that they have done. It is just because we love them, that we would deliver them from the selfish and brutal interests, incarnate in political parties and economic systems, which seek to use them for their own fell purposes. During the war, Jenkin Lloyd Jones wrote a book, entitled "Love For Battle-Torn Peoples," in which he sought to teach Americans why they should love all the belligerents of Europe, and strive to bring them peace. It is the spirit of this noble book which we would have live in UNITY.

Is there any such thing as free speech in the United States? O, yes—when affairs are quiet, when danger is far distant, when it makes little difference what is said on any subject. But let some social issue appear on which feeling runs high, let some great political or economic interest be confronted with serious opposition, as during the war, or now in the coal strikes of West Virginia and Pennsylvania, and how much liberty is left to the so-called free citizen? Freedom is valuable only when we want to use it to overthrow some hoary vested evil, or defend some precious human right, and that is the very time when, in this country as in other countries, we are not allowed to use it. Some days ago, for example, Mr. Arthur G. Hayes, a well-known lawyer of New York, went into one of the non-union mining districts of western Pennsylvania, at the behest of the Civil Liberties Union, to find out if free speech and assemblage are interfered with by the coal operators. At the first town visited, Vintondale, his party was set upon by mounted police, its members assaulted and beaten, and entrance into the community refused. When he returned from a nearby union town with warrants for the arrest of the guards who had attacked him, he was arrested for trespassing on company property in quest of the local court which met on this property, held in jail for over an hour, fined without a hearing, promised a suspension of the fine if he would leave town, and finally, after a bitter fight, dismissed as not guilty. In this case, the operators got hold of the wrong man, and they will pay for their carelessness with trials for assault, suits for damages, and so on; but this is a suggestion of what happens to strike leaders or union organizers when they dare set foot in the mining villages and exercise privileges supposedly inalienable to Americans. In these Pennsylvania communities, as in similar communities in West Virginia, the operators maintain private governments that function aside from all law,

above all law, in wanton violation of every constitutional right and safeguard. And yet America will have nothing to do with Soviet Russia because, forsooth, the Bolsheviki do not allow free speech and free assemblage. Not less than once a day, in times like these, we lift our lamentations that Gilbert and Sullivan are not still with us!

The recent outbreak of lynching in the South has broken all records of horror. The month of May was the bloodiest ever known. Twelve Negroes were killed by mobs in thirty-one days. They were hanged, beaten to death, or burned at the stake. Five were tortured in flames—one, a boy of fifteen, roasted for fifteen minutes over a slow fire. Eleven of these twelve lynchings were in Texas, and one in Georgia. This latter state stands first in number of lynchings since 1889, and Texas second—all of which sounds like a league race for a world championship! Or shall we say national championship, since there is no other country in the world that burns black men in public squares for the entertainment of mobs? Meanwhile, the Dyer anti-lynching bill, passed by the House of Representatives by a large majority, is tied up in the Senate with the declaration that it is "absolutely unconstitutional." The recent decision of the Supreme Court on the Child Labor Law would seem to lend color to this opinion; and we are inclined to agree with Senator Borah, chairman of the sub-committee in charge of the bill, that it is better to have delay now than frustration and defeat later on. That there is not some constitutional way for the nation to handle this abomination, however, is ridiculous. At least, it seems ridiculous to our unprofessional mind, that a Constitution, written for the express purpose of establishing justice, should stand in the way of this purpose. What are constitutions for, if not to enable a people to meet, by orderly processes, their social needs? The lynching evil must be taken in hand by the nation, and if the Constitution does not permit this, then it must be made, by amendment or otherwise, to meet it.

"I can't imagine how the church has the face to exist," says Bernard Shaw, "after its recreancy during the war." Neither can we! But if the church were content merely "to exist," it would not be so bad. What makes the situation intolerable to a person equipped with even a rudimentary sense of decency, is the insistence of the church upon posing today as an advocate of peace. Suppose a man who had been guilty of a monstrous offence of adultery, and had never repented of it, should suddenly begin talking about chastity and the sanctity of the home, and present himself as a champion of family love. Who of us would take such a man seriously? Who of us would not denounce him for his hypocrisy and impudence? And yet this is exactly what the church is doing to-day in talking about peace, and asking men to support it as an instrument of international concord and amity. If any fact of history is plain it is that the church, as a whole, in 1914 and after, supported war, denounced peace, preached hate, and persecuted them who plead for reconciliation. If any prospect of the future is certain it is that, if another war should come to-morrow or next year, or a decade hence, the church would support it with every weapon in its control. It would make no difference what this next war was about, with what nation it was fought, to what end it was conducted, the church would still support it, as it supported the last war, in the name of Jesus Christ. This is an old story, of course, and it has been often told in these columns. But it is worth repeating in view of what the church is now doing, or pretending to do, for peace. All its present activities in this matter are just as much open fraud as the selling of shoes with paper soles, or of fire-extinguishers loaded with gasoline.

The way in which churches are disappearing in our great cities is beautifully illustrated by the latest amalgamation in New York. One would think that Protestant Episcopal churches would have no difficulty in surviving in this city, where the membership, wealth and social influence of the denomination are so great. Two churches of the diocese, however, both located in highly favorable sections of the community, have found it impossible to go it alone, or at least have found it desirable to join hands and merge their forces in a single parish. The issue was precipitated, it should be said, by the disastrous fire which completely destroyed the edifice of Zion and St. Timothy's—itself, by the way, a church which represents the merger of two earlier parishes, as its dual name indicates! Bereft of its home, the people of Zion and St. Timothy took refuge with the congregation of St. Matthew's, which was depleted in numbers and in bad condition financially. A few weeks experience of worship and working together, revealed the advantage of uniting the two churches, one of which had no home, and the other of which was in need both of human and financial resources. And so these churches unite in a single parish! The net result, from the standpoint of the community, is interesting. Once there were three Protestant Episcopal churches busily at work. Then there were two. Now there is only one! It sounds for all the world like the old nursery rhyme about "ten little Indians sitting on a rail." As steadily and surely, and much more rapidly, as the washing away of sandstone under the beating of the rain, the Protestant churches in our great cities are disappearing. This is the fact, brethren. What are we going to do about it?

Across the Pacific

Editorial Correspondence.

When I landed at Sydney—"The third finest harbor in the world"—I was pleased to learn that police registration of travelers had been abandoned. Last year, one had to proceed to the police station nearest his boarding-house, and register. He repeated the same performance each time he moved. This year all that is required is to give up your passport which will be found at your consul's office when you depart from the country. A passport therefore does not aid for identification at banks, etc.!

The lands of the world may well follow Australia's example in abolishing police registration and other irritating requirements from travelers. But the world seems to be in bad shape psychologically, industrially and financially—and it could not be otherwise after the hurricane. We are in for great repairs or for the birth of a new world; and either one will be attended with pain and travail. Each nation seems to be turned in upon itself. Each one would like to be self-sustaining, in order to sustain an embargo—should one come.

I have been advocating a Year of Jubilee—similar to the one enjoyed by the Jews every fifty years. As an American I am willing to join in the prayer of debt cancellation, provided it also means "forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us." The Year of Jubilee should include a cancellation of debts, a lifting of mortgages, a freeing of slaves, a return of possessions unjustly acquired. Would it not be splendid if the Anglo-Saxon (American and British) cancelled not only all war debts, but also all mortgages held on the lands of the earth? There can be no permanent peace where men are denied access to the land.

What is needed is a general loosening up and generosity among the nations, not higher lifting of tariff walls and increased restriction on immigration. Before the war, Turkey was about the only country in Europe where one had to show a passport. I spent eight or ten summers roaming over Europe and all that I had to show anywhere was my American Express checks. How long are we to remain Turkey-ized?

Australia is a great continent—larger, you know, in area, than the United States. There are fewer than 6,000,000 Australians. They are 95 percent British and are a vigorous independent people. There are a few flies, however, in their national ointment. Public gambling was in progress on all the principal thoroughfares of Sydney—a city of a million—as I arrived. I understand they hold the world's record for gambling. It is linked up in a conspicuous way with horse-racing, which is a national pastime. In some states, notably New South Wales, a totalizator is used for the betting, from which the government—also charity, I think—gets a rake off. I have been taught to think that gambling spoils everything it touches. I still have that opinion.

The people of Sydney are enjoying a little sport in enforcing an ordinance that pedestrians shall "keep to the left." Heretofore, they have followed the British rule—to the left for traffic, to the right for pedestrians. Sydney proposes to make it a left-handed world throughout. It does not look as if they would succeed. My idea is that they will have to begin with the babies—have them born left-handed. However, it might be a fit subject for a world's conference, namely, the Traffic rules of the land and sea.

A journey from Sydney to Melbourne—500 miles—illustrates one of the difficulties of world's peace. The two states—Victoria and New South Wales—in which one travels have different railway gauges. In consequence we were turned out of a perfectly comfortable berth early in the morning when we came to the boundary line, to change to another train, on a different gauge. The state of Queensland has a still different gauge. The peace problem is how to make harmony out of different gauged peoples.

When the train stopped at Seymour—the last stop before Melbourne—a voice floated from the platform through the window, saying with emphasis "We must get our backs against the wall and bring the wages down." It didn't sound good; for, really, the common welfare demands that wages be the last item cut. I was also sorry to note an abundance of unsavory sectarianism in the atmosphere. The Labor party is being dubbed by the politicians as the "R. C. Party," and Protestants are showing too great avidity in biting. I can not help hoping that the separation of Church and State in America will be repeatedly emphasized; for I suspect that those of us who are acquainted with war-hysteria would find sectarian frenzy four-fold hotter and meaner.

I am pleased to note that the state's prison of Victoria, at Partridge, is being remodeled in the interests of humanity. The prisoners are to sleep in hammocks and more attention is to be paid for the normal wants of men. The women prisoners are to be removed to separate and more wholesome quarters. Also Melbourne's city jail is to be abandoned for cause. In fact, Victoria has rather of an enviable record, as to her penal institutions.

In conversing with a public school teacher, I discovered one pleasant diversion from the logic of the capitalistic system. It is this: The teachers of the state of Victoria—true also in other ports of Australia—who are working in the back lots, far away in the country, in lonely places, are paid more than those who work in the towns and cities! The harder the work, the better the pay—is the idea. Suppose it were applied in America, to teachers and preachers—yes, throughout our industrial world—it would make for justice and peace, wouldn't it?

Melbourne, April 18. SYDNEY STRONG.

The Recognition of Russia

Speech by Hon. William E. Borah.
(From Congressional Record of May 31, 1922.)

Mr. Borah. Mr. President, it is now near the end of the fourth year since the signing of the armistice which put an end to actual hostilities in the World War. The Genoa conference and its ignoble ending reminds us, however, that our peace is nothing but war carried on in a different way. All the old purposes and passions, the ancient animosities, the intolerance, the relentless bigotry, which characterize war were at Genoa and finally encompassed its failure. There was not in that conference—speaking of the conference as a whole—a single move or plan based upon true principles of reconstruction. Everything was conceived and carried out in the spirit of destruction and war. Although Europe, with its vast armies, its military alliances, its tax-ridden people, its hungry men and women, its crippled, its diseased, and its indescribable misery, was spread out before those assembled, this, and all this, was not sufficient to brace the conference to a single high and honorable resolve. The world has had to witness in its bloody and treacherous past many international conclaves, but none ever met with such great responsibilities confronting it, and none ever adjourned with so little to its credit.

It must be apparent to everyone that a continuance of the policies which have characterized the dominant powers of Europe since the war will either end in another world conflict or, if not in actual war, bring about such a condition of retrogression as will engulf the masses of all nations in unending peonage. The people want peace. They want to go back to work. They want to trade with each other and respect and recognize each other. But they are held back, as it were, in a leash by the policies of their political masters—policies which they are neither permitted to approve or condemn. Never was there a time when so much was being said about democracy, about unity and co-operation, and never have the people had so little to say about these things, and all things which involve liberty and life.

We have had four years of actual war—bloody and remorseless war—leaving as a legacy a debt which it is difficult for the human mind to comprehend, leaving the sick, the diseased, the blind, and the insane in every community. We have now also had four years of hate and vengeance, four years devoted to punishment and destruction. Is it not time to risk something, to venture something, in the cause of a new era, of a new order, to accept the creed, the fundamental tenet of which is live and let live? Has tolerance no part or place in post-war politics? Is every act or move of the victor Governments to be gauged solely by the question of material advantage or gain —coal or oil? Are questions of human rights and human liberties to have no weight in making up or shaping our policies? Shall we absolutely refuse to recognize those whose form of government does not suit us or who have not something to give us in the way of advantage in matters of trade and barter? Will not recognition promote friendly relations, and may we not forego something of our views and risk something in the cause of greater amity and peace?

The Russian problem is conceded by all to be the key to a restored Europe, to a peaceful Europe. There can be no such thing as peace in Europe, or a normal condition of affairs, or disarmament, or relief from taxes and similar burdens until the Russian problem shall have been settled. That was made evident at every session of the Genoa conference. Only in proportion as they were able to deal with that subject were they able to hold sessions which seemed to have any vital motive or any ultimate purpose or object to be attained.

Not only does the Russian problem involve the prosperity of Europe but it is only less important to this country. We may pass tariff bills, but until Europe is restored and the markets of Europe again resume, we can not hope to enjoy the prosperity or the contentment in this country which we are entitled to enjoy. Until the markets of Europe shall have been opened, and the manufacturers of this country can find a market for their surplus products, it will be impossible for them to buy, as they would necessarily have to buy, of the farmer in order to insure his prosperity. While the tariff bill has its place in the consideration of affairs at this time, until there is a settlement of the European situation upon policies which permit of the return to the ordinary duties and obligations of peaceful citizenship, we can not hope to enjoy prosperity in this country. Until the markets of Europe are open and the people of Europe are buying our economic situation here will be unsatisfactory.

This is not the time, even if I were able to do so, to recount the history of the Russian people. It is as fascinating a story as has been written in the history of the world. But I do call attention very briefly to the part which Russia played in the Great War. It is a telling and at times the most controlling and determining part; a fact which, it seems to me, we ought not wholly to overlook at this time. It will enable us, it occurs to me, to form more tolerant, wiser, and sounder views concerning those people.

Lloyd-George, in his speech before the House of Commons upon his return from Genoa, used this language:

> The Russians are a gallant people, a loyal and patient people, a people capable of greater heights of unselfish devotion than almost any race in the world, as they demonstrated through the first two or three years of the Great War, when more particularly on one occasion they sacrificed themselves in order to save the Allies; but a people accustomed for generations to obey ruthless and relentless authority, and who, under the lash of despair, had been very formidable to their neighbors.

This tribute is not in excess of their deserts. At one time the Russian people mobilized 21,000,000 men in the Great War. In February, 1917, they had 14,000,000 men in arms, fighting over a front of 3,500 miles. They had arrayed against them at one time one-third of the entire German Army, two-thirds of the Austrian Army, the entire Hungarian Army, and two-thirds of the Turkish Army. They lost during the war 2,500,000 men upon the field of battle and between 3,000,000 and 3,500,000 wounded. They had prisoners taken to the number of 2,000,000, 1,000,000 of whom died in prison. They themselves captured some 400,000 German prisoners, 1,000,000 Austrians, and 300,-

000 Hungarians. Indeed, as the Premier of England said, at one time they sacrificed themselves in order to save the Allies.

No nation suffered more or sacrificed more in the Great War during those years than the Russian people, and the fighting which they did was never excelled on any front in the world struggle or elsewhere. As has been recounted before, being without arms, in a large measure deprived of the means of carrying on the conflict which they should have had, they stood beside their fighting comrades, seized weapons from the falling men, and continued the battle. Indeed, it is said that at times they fought the opposing forces with their bare fists. Those are matters which ought to throw some light upon what we may expect of the Russian people, as a people, when they are given an opportunity to demonstrate the qualities they actually possess.

During the war came the revolution in Russia. It has had the course of all great revolutions. It came rather unexpectedly, even among the Russian people. It took a course in some respects wholly unexpected. Indeed, human foresight can not foresee or gauge the course of these great mass movements, these revolutions which shake continents. There is no law, human or divine, by which to judge them. They are a law unto themselves. In defiance of all preconceived plans, or mortal schemes they set up their own standards and map out, even as they move, their own course. Eccentric, unnatural, remorseless, some blind, inherent force seems to drive them along their bloody pathway in utter disregard of the purposes of their instigators, and exempt from all control of their supposed masters. Their end and their results no one can foresee.

The final results are often beyond all anticipation, even of their most powerful actors. If there be in human affairs such a thing as fate, imperious and inexplicable, master of the human will, transcendent over the human intellect, it is most manifest in these upheavals of human passion. We see crimes committed, with no apparent object in view; cruelty, senseless and purposeless, practiced; deeds done to the utter confusion of the perpetrators; policies, ruthless and self-destructive, urged and pursued; and yet, in the end a result obtains conducive to human progress, vital to the welfare of the human family and outweighing in good all the deplorable sacrifices by which it was achieved. In spite of all, the fateful drama goes forward, sinister and revolting figures cross and recross the stage, scenes close and the curtains fall, chaos seems to rule supreme; nevertheless, out of this woof and warp of crime and incompetency a higher life, a better people, a nobler nation, emerges. This was notably true as to the French Revolution, and I doubt not at all will be true of the Russian Revolution. In common with all who deplore human suffering and execrate those who inflict cruelty upon their fellows, I would prefer that these great changes could come about in a different way. Nevertheless, the change must come—it is a part of the law of human progress, the reason for which I am little able to understand and the justice of which it seems utterly useless to question.

One striking feature of this great movement which ought not to be overlooked, because it has had a very marked effect upon the attitude of mind of the Russian people, is that from the beginning the Allies expressed little sympathy with the revolutionary movement in Russia. With the exception of the United States, as those views were expressed by President Wilson, there was no true sympathy upon the part of the governments engaged in the war. Every move that was made seemed to have for its purpose the augmenting and sustaining of counter revolutions and, as a very great Russian has said, while the Allies seemed anxious to have Russia back in the war, there was little expression of feeling as to what the ultimate result of the struggle for free government in Russia should be.

As I have said, there was an exception to that in the expression made by this country through President Wilson, and, if I may, I take a moment to read the statement by the ex-President in his address to the Congress on January 8, 1918, in stating the war aims:

> The evacuation of all Russian territories and a settlement of all Russian questions such as to insure the best and most untrammeled co-operation of other nations of the world in order to afford Russia a clear and precise opportunity for the independent settlement of her autonomous political development and of her national policy, promising her a cordial welcome in the League of Nations under institutions of her own choice, and besides a cordial welcome, help, and assistance in all that she may need and require. The treatment meted out to Russia by the sister nations in the months to come must be a decisive proof of their good will, of their understanding of her needs as apart from their own interests and of their intelligent and disinterested sympathy.

That was, it seems to me, the true principle "under institutions of her own choice," sound and ancient American doctrine. "Afford Russia a clear and precise opportunity for independent settlement of her autonomous political development." Wiser words in regard to Russia have not been spoken. These were spoken January 8, 1918, long after the fall of Kerensky and the advent of Lenin.

The expression of that view at that time was received throughout Russia with approval, and undoubtedly created a feeling of confidence in the American policy. It is one of the unfortunate things of the war, one of the things which has left disaster and suffering in its wake, that that policy in the first instance expressed has not been undeviatingly pursued by the Government of the United States. We had nothing to gain by deviating from the most sympathetic and helpful policy toward the Russian people, and we had everything to lose by adopting a different course.

There has been in history, so far as I know, but one revolution to be compared with the Russian Revolution, and I want to draw some comparisons to-day between the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution. I want to look in upon the French Revolution during its progress, observe the issues and the principles which were raised, the questions which were presented to the outside nations, and the manner in which outside nations dealt with the subject in hand. It seems to me it establishes a precedent to which we may recur, if not for absolute guidance, yet for wise suggestion as to the present situation.

There is scarcely a principle or a proposition which has been raised by outside nations with reference to the Russian Revolution which was not raised and presented and discussed and considered and determined by outside nations with reference to the French Revolution. There was scarcely a question of policy considered at that time different from that which has been presented with reference to the Russian Revolu-

tion. I am going to recur briefly, in order to secure a better statement of those issues than I can present, to the great debate between Pitt and Fox relative to what England should do in the matter of treating and trading with the French Republic and with reference to its recognition.

We should bear in mind that for 12 long years two of the ablest statesmen of the English-speaking tongue discussed the policy of England with reference to the French Revolution. Then I want you to go with me to the policy which was adopted by our own Government under the leadership of men equally distinguished in statesmanship and, to my mind, much wiser in the policy which they adopted.

We are told in these days that nothing has ever occurred like the Russian Revolution in its atrocity, its inhumanity, and its cruelties, and nothing like the questions presented by it have ever before been presented. As we go through this debate, I invite attention to the fact that the things which we are discussing now are the things which they discussed in those days.

Mr. Pitt said in the famous debate on February 3, 1800:

> I consider the French Revolution as the severest trial which the visitation of Providence has ever inflicted upon the nations of the earth.

This debate was taking place during the question of treating and trading with the Government of France, Mr. Pitt urging that the system which they had set up was in contravention to all orderly governments, that it had utter disregard for the sanctity of property or for the sacredness of life, and that the people who were at the head of it could not be trusted, and for England to recognize such a system of so-called government was to encourage the spread of the doctrines which they were teaching, which would result ultimately in the destruction of all orderly forms of government.

Upon page 98, of volume 3 of these debates, it is said:

> They—

The French Republic—

> had issued a universal declaration of war against all the thrones of Europe; and they had, by their conduct, applied it particularly and specifically to you—

That is, the English Government.

> They had passed the decree of the 19th of November, 1792, proclaiming the promise of French succor to all nations who should manifest a wish to become free; they had by all their language, as well as their example, shown what they understood to be freedom; they had sealed their principles by the deposition of their sovereign; they had applied them to England by inviting and encouraging the addresses of those seditious and traitorous societies who from the beginning favored their views, and who, encouraged by your forbearance, were even then publicly avowing French doctrines and anticipating their success in this country; who were hailing the progress of those proceedings in France, which led to the murder of its King; they were even then looking to the day when they should behold a national convention in England formed upon similar principles.

How similar to the fear of the spread of the soviet doctrine into this country at the present time. One of the main arguments against recognizing the soviet government is that this would accentuate and tend to spread and to some extent honor the doctrine which they say is inimical to all forms of order and orderly government.

Again, he said:

> What would have been the effect of admitting this explanation? To suffer a nation, an armed nation, to preach to the inhabitants of all the countries in the world that themselves were slaves—

That is, the inhabitants of the other countries—

> and their rulers tyrants; to encourage and invite them to revolution, by a previous promise of French support, to whatever might call itself a majority, or to whatever France might declare to be so. This was their explanation; and this, they told you, was their ultimatum.

This was the view of Mr. Pitt relative to what he called an "armed system," not a government, not a responsible political entity, but an armed system controlled and directed by men who had no regard for property, for life, or for established order.

Upon page 105 it is said:

> These terms should be—

That is, these are the terms which it was proposed should be made to France—

> That these terms should be the withdrawing their arms within the limits of the French territory; the abandoning their conquests; the rescinding any acts injurious to the sovereignty or rights of any other nations; and the giving in some public and unequivocal manner a pledge of their intention no longer to foment troubles or to excite disturbances against other Governments.

Mr. President, very similar, indeed, to the request which the Premier of England thought essential, and the idea which seems to be uppermost in the mind of the Government at Washington, a request which seems to be understood as necessary to be granted before any recognition of the soviet government can be had.

I call attention to this that we may understand that these questions have been met, and met by American leaders and American statesmen, as we shall see in a few moments. Before I go to that I want to read a paragraph or two in the reply from Mr. Fox. The reply was made on the same evening, and to my mind the greatest piece of debating of which history gives a record.

Fox, who was contending for the recognition of the French Republic and for treating and trading with the French Republic, said:

> Gracious God! Were we not told, five years ago, that France was not only on the brink but that she was actually in the gulf of bankruptcy? Were we not told, as an unanswerable argument against treating, that she could not hold out another campaign; that nothing but peace could save her; that she wanted only time to recruit her exhausted finances; that to grant her repose was to grant her the means of again molesting this country; and that we had nothing to do but persevere for a short time, in order to save ourselves forever from the consequences of her ambition and her Jacobinism? What! After having gone on from year to year upon assurances like these, and after having seen the repeated refutations of every prediction, are we again to be seriously told that we have the same prospect of success on the same identical grounds?

For five years, Mr. President, there has appeared in a large portion of the press of this country and from the lips of high officials the statement that within 30 days or 60 days, or at most within a brief period, the soviet government would collapse; that all we had to do was persist in the policy of nonrecognition or nonaid, either one way or the other, and it must inevitably follow. For five years the soviet government has been meeting every test which can be applied to a government from without and from within. At the present time it seems to be conceded upon all hands that it is much stronger than it has been at any time during those five years. Notwithstanding that fact, the prophecy is still put forth—for the consolation of

those, I suppose, who put it forth—that within a short time the soviet government is to fail, and to recognize it is to aid in its maintenance a little longer.

Further on Mr. Fox said:

> Look back to the proclamations with which they set out. Read the declarations which they made themselves to justify their appeal to arms. They did not pretend to fear their ambition, their conquests, their troubling their neighbors; but they accused them of new modeling their own Government. They said nothing of their aggressions abroad; they spoke only of their clubs and societies at Paris.
>
> Sir, in all this, I am not justifying the French—I am not striving to absolve them from blame, either in their internal or external policy.

Again he said:

> I therefore contend, that as we never scrupled to treat with the princes of the house of Bourbon on account of their rapacity, their thirst of conquest, their violation of treaties, their perfidy, and their restless spirit, so we ought not to refuse to treat with their republican imitators.

Mr. President, when the whole story of all the cruelties and the atrocities of the soviet government shall have been told, it will not exceed or excel in brutality, in inhumanity, in cruelty those of a government which we have recognized ever since we have been in existence. My friend, the able Senator from New Jersey (Mr. Edge), said the other day that to recognize the soviet government with its present policies would be infamous. We recognized the czar government at a time when the peasantry of Russia was tied to the land, whipped and sold and treated as common chattels. Is there anything in the present situation more infamous, more intolerable? Human language is inadequate to tell the story of the wrongs which have been heaped upon the peasantry of Russia these 300 years—who said during these years we should withdraw recognition of Russia? It is said that we should not recognize Russia because the rights of property are not respected. Did we not recognize the old government when life was not respected; when human beings were ranked in dignity with the land?

Further on he said:

> No man regrets, sir, more than I do the enormities that France has committed; but how do they bear upon the question as it now stands? Are we forever to deprive ourselves of the benefits of peace because France has perpetrated acts of injustice?

Mr. Sterling. Mr. President, may I ask the Senator from whom he is quoting?

Mr. Borah. Charles James Fox in reply to Pitt. I will pause to say that history has justified beyond peradventure the speech of Charles James Fox. It has been said that no man ever lost so many motions in the House of Commons as Fox and no man was so often right. There are those who find consolation in that fact.

Now we come, Mr. President, to the doctrine upon which America proceeded, although this is stated by Mr. Fox. Said Fox:

> I think the people of France, as well as every other people, ought to have the goverment which they like best themselves; and the form of that government, or the persons who hold it in their hands, should never be an obstacle with me to treat with the nation for peace, or to live with them in amity.

Let us turn now, Mr. President, from the great debate between two great English statesmen, which continued off and on for 12 years. During its continuance there continued war, conflict, the sacrifice of human life, and continued deepening misery. Upon this side of the water the same question arose as to whether or not we should recognize the Republic of France.

I invite the attention of those who profoundly respect the Father of Our Country and the Cabinet which surrounded him to some of the views which they expressed, the action which they took, and the result of policies which they pursued. Upon the 18th day of April, 1793, seven years prior to the debate when Pitt and Fox were still discussing the question, President Washington sent a letter to Mr. Hamilton, and, as I remember, to all other members of the Cabinet, and in that letter was this question:

> Question 2. Shall a minister from the Republic of France be received?
>
> Question 3. If received, shall it be absolutely or with qualifications; and, if with qualifications, of what kind?

That, Mr. President, was on the 18th day of April, 1793. On the 6th day of April, 1793, there was established in Paris what was known as the Committee of Public Safety, 12 days before the writing of this Cabinet letter. That Committee of Public Safety held within its control and its unlimited discretion the life of every man, woman, and child within the confines of France. At the head of that Committee of Public Safety was Barere, of whom Macaulay could say he "tasted blood and felt no loathing; he tasted it again and liked it well." But the dominant and controlling figure of that committee was Danton. That committee was without law save the discretion of those who sat—nine of them—and the property and the lives and the destiny of France were absolutely within its control. The power of Lenin could not be greater, nor more arbitrarily or cruelly used.

What happened? This letter was sent out on the 18th day of April, 1793. On the 19th day of April, 1793, the Cabinet met and they unanimously decided to receive the minister from the French Republic. There was no dissenting voice among the members of the Cabinet. Shortly thereafter, on the 18th of May, 1793, Washington recognized Genet as minister of the French Republic in pursuance of the policy which had been outlined at a Cabinet meeting and agreed to unanimously by the Cabinet.

I call attention, Mr. President, to the fact that this recognition took place at a time when I have said that Barere and Danton were at the head of the Committee of Public Safety. They continued until the 6th day of April, 1794, a year to a day subsequent. Upon the 6th day of April, 1794, Robespierre reorganized the Committee of Public Safety and became its controlling spirit; and there has not been in all the history of the world such austere depravity as characterized the reign of terror under the last months of Danton and until the 28th day of July, 1794, when Robespierre died under the guillotine which he himself had been using in such a marked and ruthless way. During that time the wise, the farseeing Washington continued to recognize the French Republic.

Mr. President, let us ascertain, if we can, upon what principles Washington and his Cabinet acted. However, before I proceed to that I will go a little further into some of the details of the organization of the French Republic during those days. On June 20, 1789, the representatives of France, finding the great hall closed, adjourned to the tennis court, and there took solemn oath that they would not adjourn until France should have a new constitution. If any particular and single event may be considered as the beginning of the

French Revolution, I presume this might be so considered.

On July 14, 1789, the Bastille fell and the mob took control of Paris. In August, 1789, the assembly issued its declaration of the rights of man, which was a general statement of principles and the basis of civil society. The declaration of rights as made at that time was just as obnoxious, quite as much despised, and quite as much feared by the established order which then prevailed in Europe as is any enunciation which has come from the soviet government. It was regarded as inimical to all forms of government. Men were sent to prison in England for even advocating it; much more would they have been punished for practicing it.

In August, 1789, the assembly abolished all orders of nobility—the peerage, hereditary distinctions of all kinds and prerogatives of all kinds. On January 17, 1790, the Jacobin Club became the real political power in Paris and throughout France. It was a case of mob rule for a time.

In June, 1790, France was geographically redistricted and rearranged; her whole judicial system was revised; the power of the National Assembly was enlarged; church lands were confiscated; and all the old landmarks of government were obliterated. The guillotine was set up, and daily did its bloody work, and hundreds were executed.

In June, 1791, the King and Queen undertook to escape from France; were captured and brought back, and thereafter to all practical purposes were prisoners. On April 20, 1792, France declared war on Austria, and the long wars growing out of the French Republic began. Belgium was shortly thereafter invaded. On June 20, 1792, the mobs of Paris overawed the assembly and forced their way into the King's palace.

On August 10, 1792, Danton, at the head of a vast mob, swept over the assembly and the monarchy, overpowering everything. The streets of Paris ran red with blood, and other cities were laid bare to the mob. About this time took place what is known as the fearful massacre of the prisoners in the different jails. On September 21, 1792, the convention abolished royalty and proclaimed a Republic. In November, 1792, began the trial of the King and shortly thereafter of the Queen. On November 19, 1792, the French Assembly issued what Pitt called a universal declaration of war, of which we have read in his speeches. On December 15, 1792, they issued another general proclamation of the same nature, declaring that the French Army would go to the assistance of all peoples who wished to abolish their governments and establish governments in harmony with the principles of the French Republic. On January 21, 1793, Louis XVI was executed, and thus the revolution threw down the glove to all Europe. On October 16, 1793, the Queen was executed. So, Mr. President, within three months after execution of the King and prior to the execution of the Queen, Washington and his compeers saw fit to recognize the existence of the French Republic. Between the time of the execution of the King and the execution of the Queen occurred what was known in France as the reign of terror or mob rule. No language, Mr. President, which has been used, or which could be used in the description of the atrocities of the soviet government could exceed the atrocities which were practiced during those months. There must have been a deep, a profound reason for the recognition of that Government in France, to which we will come in a few moments.

On June 2, 1793, Lyon, by decree of the convention, was doomed to destruction; its name was to be blotted out; 3,500 were arrested, and half of them thrown into prison and massacred. Toulon and Marsaille suffered likewise. This was the condition, Mr. President, in France at the time of the action of Washington's Cabinet.

Now, who composed that Cabinet? Excepting always, of course, living Cabinets, it was undoubtedly the greatest in all history, not only of our country but of all the world. They were not only administrators but they were builders of government; they were constructors; they were the carpenters which set up the fabric. There have not been in the history of mankind two men who better understood the science of government than Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. The wide-ranging genius of Jefferson surveyed every possible activity within the political world, and Hamilton's constructive genius has never been excelled in the history of mankind. With them sat Washington, and these men, none of them in sympathy with the things which were being practiced in France, for reasons of peace, of stability, and the fundamental principle that a people have the right to set up their own government, recognized the existence of the French Republic and continued to do business with it from the 18th day of May, 1793, on, and the relationship was never broken.

I digress to quote a few words from Alexander Hamilton upon the French Revolution. It is one of the arguments, or rather one of the statements, made by those opposed to the recognition of soviet Russia that all who favor it are Bolsheviks and more or less in sympathy with the practices which have prevailed in Russia. I presume the same arguments would have been made in that day against Hamilton and Jefferson had there been living at that time those with such barren processes of thinking as seem to prevail upon the part of those who put forth these assertions now. Of course those who make such assertions well know them to be false, but falsehood is the handy weapon of the intellectual bankrupt.

Hamilton said, speaking of the French Revolution:

> A league has at length been cemented between the apostles and disciples of irreligion and of anarchy. * * * The practical development of this pernicious system has been seen in France. It has seemed as an engine to subvert all her ancient institutions, civil and religious, with all the checks that seemed to mitigate the rigor of authority; it has hurried her headlong through a rapid succession of dreadful revolutions which have laid waste property, made havoc among the arts, overthrown cities, desolated provinces, unpeopled regions, crimsoned her soil with blood, and deluged it in crime, poverty, and wretchedness; and all this as yet for no better purpose than to erect on the ruins of former things a despotism unlimited and uncontrolled, leaving to a deluded, an abused, a plundered, a scourged, and an oppressed people not even the shadow of liberty to console them for a long train of substantial misfortunes, of bitter suffering.

George Washington, in a letter written later, quoting from page 140 of Lodge's Life of Washington, says:

> My conduct in public and private life, as it relates to the important struggle [of the French Revolution] in which the latter [France] is engaged, has been uniform from the commencement of it, and may be summed up in a few words: That I have always wished well to the French Revolution; that I have always given it as my decided opinion that no nation has a right to intermeddle in the internal concerns of another; that every one had a right to form and adopt whatever government they liked best to live under themselves.

Notwithstanding the conditions which prevailed in France—the confiscation of property, the disregard of established institutions, the repudiation of debts, and the atrocities which were practiced—Washington was not willing to deviate from the proposition that a people have the right to set up whatever form of government they wish to live under and that it is the business of outside nations to recognize whatever form of government they may themselves see fit to establish. He talked little or not at all of trade, of safety of investments, of Bourbon debts—these matters he wisely supposed could be better handled after cordial relations were established. Time proved he was correct in his view. It was upon the basis of this policy, and in due regard for these principles, that the wise men sitting about the Cabinet table in 1793 concluded to recognize the French Republic. What was the result of it? Instead of the propaganda going forward in this country which seems to have been feared then from some sources, and is now feared with reference to Soviet Russia, it ceased almost entirely. The American Republic was a friend to the French people. There was no occasion to continue acts of enmity to our institutions or disregard of our wishes. The policy which Washington pointed out in 1793 and established was the policy to which England had to come, and to which Pitt, supported by Fox, had to accede after they had brought Europe to turmoil and destruction and war for 15 long years.

Who can doubt in the light of history that had it been within the mind of Pitt to have accepted the policy of the wise leader of the western Republic the great war between France and England would have terminated 10 years before it did? And just so surely as the policy which is now being pursued is pursued with reference to Soviet Russia it will inevitably continue and prolong the misery, the turmoil, and the discontent of Europe.

Mr. President, it may be possible, by reason of the policies which are being pursued, to break down the soviet government. It may be possible that it will fall. I do not pretend to say that it will not. But suppose the soviet government falls. What then? What takes its place? Here are 170,000,000 people in distress and in turmoil. There is only one directing force in it, and, as Lloyd-George said at Genoa, there they sit, representing this 170,000,000 people. Suppose we destroy it, break it down, and plant chaos in the midst of Russia. What then? What government takes its place? What power will control and bring order? Who will speak to the warring forces and say: "Be still"? Are we willing to break down the only semblance of authority, the only semblance of order, which prevails in that country and leave it to utter chaos? What do we propose to give them instead? Shall we hunt out some representative of the old régime and force him upon the Russians? That would be infamous. Or shall we connive at the destruction of their present government and leave them to bloody chaos?

Mr. President, this is, as I might say, preliminary to the discussion of the practical questions, the vital questions, which will necessarily arise in connection with recognition. I am not going to-day to undertake to discuss them, but shall do so very shortly. I wanted to say this much as a preliminary to the discussion of the more practical propositions. There is the practical proposition of commercial relations, debts, and property. I shall discuss those things, I hope, very soon. I want to say in closing that I make no concealment of the fact that I have sympathized from the beginning with the revolutionary movement in Russia. I expressed that opinion early in 1917, and I entertain the same feeling now.

No people, with whose history I am familiar, have been scourged and tortured as the Russian people. They had suffered much and they suffered long at the hands of their corrupt and merciless masters. The unrelenting and sanguinary rule of the Romanoffs has no parallel in all the annals of crime. If ever a people had ample justification for overthrowing their government and seeking surcease of sorrow in a new life, these people were more than justified. The Great War, destroying, as it did, the rooted institutions of centuries also broke some fetters. In Russia, at least, they heard and believed that this war was being fought in the interest of the people, of democratic government. With this gospel of a new life ringing in their ears, the tragic year of 1917 was ushered in. It found the whole social and economic fabric of Russia in collapse; a court mildewed with the stupid superstitions and loathsome lechery of Rasputin; venal public ministers bartering their influence in the highest market; millions cold and hungry in the streets with bacchanalian debauchery in the places of power. Then came the breaking up of the great deep.

The elementary forces of human nature, crazed with hunger, wild with the hope of liberty, were released and the Russian Revolution was born. The reign of the Romanoffs was in any event to have an end. In that stupendous fact certainly all lovers of humanity may rejoice. The manner of their going, could it have been controlled, all would have had different, but that this dynasty should end once and for all is one of the compensations of the war. It had cursed and encumbered the earth long enough. And those who believe as I do in that kind of human progress which is initiated and sustained, not alone by great personages or dominant figures, nor guided by select groups of men, but which comes forward by reason of the great dumb forces of oppressed and outraged and downtrodden humanity, still believe that "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

Some will say such reasoning is to approve and commend these things done in the name of revolution. You might as well charge me with approving the atrocities of the French Revolution because I believe such revolution was unavoidable, that it marked the beginning of a new and far better era in France. I do not regret the Russian Revolution, but I do deplore its cruelties. Humanity seems sometimes to get into a trap from which there is no escape except to hew its way out. I regret the method, but I would not have humanity eternally entrapped. In these great social upheavals kings and lords and leaders are of but little concern and criticism is of no avail. The people are patient and long suffering before they are cruel. I do not know of a revolution in all history, a revolution which had its roots deep down in the sufferings and the sorrows and sacrifices of the people, but was amply justified and in the end altogether for the betterment and the advancement of mankind. I venture to believe the Russian Revolution will be no exception. In the end there will emerge a freer, a more released, a more democratic Russia. Untrained in the affairs of self-government, untutored in the duties and obligations of a free people, schooled alone by 300 years of

oppression and venal mastery, they are nevertheless a great people, a patient, kindly people, and from this fearful ordeal they will come forth a peaceful, home-loving, and self-governing people.

Ever since the Russian soldier carried back from France in the Napoleonic wars the seeds of democracy, a higher conception of liberty, there has been among them an unquenchable desire, an unconquerable purpose to be unchained and free. Now, belated but inevitable and upon the most stupendous and bewildering scale ever presented to the consideration of mankind, through blood and travail, through unspeakable suffering and infinite misery, they are working out their salvation. I make no apologies for the awful mistakes committed on the way, but in the words of the leader of our own revolution, the father of our own country, I take the liberty to say:

> Born in a land of liberty, my anxious recollections, my sympathetic feelings, my best wishes are irresistibly excited whensoever in any country I see an oppressed nation unfold the banners of freedom.

I believe the recognition of the defacto government of Russia would be in the interests of world peace, of the economic rehabilitation of Europe, and of the ultimate triumph of democracy, throughout Russia. It would also be in harmony with the best traditions of our Republic and the high precedent established by one whose poise no political storm could disturb and whose intellectual vision neither political bigotry nor personal prejudices could cloud.

I am going to close my remarks by a quotation from Mr. Root when he was in Russia as a representative of this government. In an address to the Russian provisional government Mr. Root said:

> As we look across the sea we distinguish no party, no class. We see great Russia, as a whole, as one mighty, striving, aspiring democracy. We know the self-control, essential kindness, strong common sense, courage, and noble idealism of the Russian character. We have faith in you all. We pray for God's blessing upon you all. We believe you will solve your probems, that you will march side by side in the triumphant progress of democracy until the old order everywhere has passed away and the world is free.

Why can not we live up to that doctrine? Shall we forever pay lip service only to the great principles of humanity, to the great truths of international amity? I care less for the teachings and the doctrine now prevailing to some extent in Russia than many who decry them most. My ideal of government is that of a government of law—orderly, regulated liberty. I care nothing for theories or doctrines over there; I see only 170,000,000 Russian people, a great people, ultimately to be a powerful people, struggling in almost blinded madness to be free of the inhumanities and the cruelties of the past. It is with those people as a people that we should sympathize, and of them as a people we should think when forming our policies and mapping out our program. To say that the people do not want the present government of Russia is not borne out by the facts. It has stood for five years against conspiracies from within and conspiracies from without. The people have fought and sacrificed for it because they believed that it is the way to a better government and a freer democracy. It is their government. It is better for the world, better for peace, better for humanity, and better for the Russians that we recognize it and seek through friendly intercourse to modify those provisions which conflict not only with their interests but, as we believe, with the interests of all nations.

A Bostonian in Germany

The following extracts are from letters of a Bostonian now in Germany who for over a year has been studying conditions there. They contain much food for American thought—for those deeply interested in the future of the United States:—

"The supremacy of the working-class, owing to the immoderate wages paid for *manual labor,* in comparison to intellectual achievement, will make itself felt more and more. The working-class is bound, for the next few decades at least, to be the *ruling class,* and as they have no respect for intellect, and no comprehension of the need of anything beyond a common school, or at most technical education, very soon the higher achievements will have died out!

"The few older men who are still teaching at the universities will have died, and there will be none to replace them. Do not forget the thousands, aye, millions, who lie in nameless graves, the very flower of Germany's best educated. Even under most favorable conditions there was bound to be a retrogression even without the systematic neglect of sciences and literature, of the highest 'Kultur.' People in America and England who admired Germany say gaily: 'Oh, yes, commercially, of course, Germany is ruined, but intellectually she can still be in the vanguard!'

"But she can't. You can't give a man *leisure* and *strength* necessary for research if his body is undernourished and his mind occupied with the crushing question of how to live on nothing a year, or next to nothing, with possibly a frail wife and hungry, or ailing children to support. The scholar of the future will probably be a celibate and a recluse, to the vast detriment of his achievements. He cannot afford to marry, or if he does, his children will not inherit his intellectual interests and be the torch-bearers for the nation, because he will educate them to be factory-workers, farmers, or mechanics, as only such pursuits ensure a comfortable living. *Already* this is taking place. I know a number of men of cultivation and intellectual standing who have 'returned to the soil,' live on a small farm where they grow their own vegetables and can have a cow, thus ensuring physical health and well-being, but, owing to the dearth of servants, forced to give all their time to the exacting labor of the farm, and their children are growing up adapting themselves to their surroundings and probably will intermarry with the *'Bauern'* (peasant) around them. I know a number of such newly-made *'Bauern.'* . . . . . .

"No intellectual worker can afford to keep a servant, or even hire a scrubbing woman for occasional emergency, for the wages of a scrubbing woman are larger than the salary of a University professor! As the 'Government' of Germany now consists of saddlers, shoe manufacturers, and mechanics of other trades, there exists no respect for education or scientific work —they are too stupid and prejudiced to realize that they are killing the Goose that lays the Golden Eggs.

"I heard the other day of the head surgeon of a large public hospital, who appealed to the authorities for a higher salary for his first assistant, stating that this very competent surgeon was getting *less* than the scrubbing woman the hospital employed. She got 14,000 marks yearly, he only 12,000. The of course communistically inclined City Fathers replied that they could not increase the surgeon's salary, and that it was perfectly fair that the scrubbing woman received more, 'as *she really* worked!' This is typical of the totally perverse and impossible condition of things in Germany today. It might be cited that the doctor in question was on duty some 14 hours a day! There are now three concierges where one used to suffice, as they keep the eight hour day strictly, and have to be relieved from the arduous labor of unlocking a door, and noticing who goes in and out.

"I think no Americans coming casually over would now at all realize the real conditions in Germany! For the stores and people on the street look prosperous and there are fewer evidences of poverty *visible* than formerly, as the working-classes dress better and are far more pretentious than formerly, owing to the high wages. The horrible, grinding, famishing poverty is among those who die and give no sign: old military men living on their little inadequate pensions, or a tiny income, who count the months, and know that on such and such a date death by starvation, or if they have the courage by a pistol shot, is the only alternative. When I was in Vienna I heard that one of the professors at the University, a man of eminent scientific attainments, had died of actual starvation. I had an appeal this autumn to subscribe to a fund for a well-known professor (retired) in Weimar, who had been discovered to be on the verge of actual starvation. I am looking out for about 8 or 10 elderly or old people, who are in actual need. One, formerly teacher of drawing in a school, now over 70 and crippled with rheumatism, has an income of 580 marks a *year!* 1000 marks a month is about adequate for *very* simple living. A loaf of bread costs 7 marks at present!

"Germany is like an intricate and delicate clock-mechanism that can run on, a certain time, because it was beautifully adjusted and put together, but the parts cannot be renewed, and as each wears out the machine either stops entirely, or continues to run with make-shifts and interruptions, owing to inferior substitutes, till at last the complete break-down is irrevocable. One sees that everywhere.

"There are still a certain number of older and efficient '*Beamten*' (official) for instance, in the Post Offices and the Custom-houses; these are experienced, honest and painstaking. They still keep the institutions running. The younger clerks are unreliable, dishonest and careless; also excessively rude and impertinent to the public, whom they no longer 'serve,' but tyrannize over. The same can be said of railroad employees. One has the feeling that only the few older men with old traditions are keeping the fabric together. Schools and universities are still running with apparent smoothness, but their fate will be the same.

"This is one aspect: i.e., the intellectual annihilation of Germany. Another is better understood: the commercial ruin.

"Even thinkers in England (*vide* the *Manchester Guardian*) now acknowledge that the Peace Terms are perfectly prohibitive of any material recuperation. And this commercial eclipse means far more than is on the surface. The consequences are far reaching, because the effects will only gradually make themselves felt, and are cumulative. A *seeming* prosperity exists when factories are able to produce in great quantities, but they are not working for themselves but for *Taskmasters,* as much Slaves as any negro working in Louisiana cotton fields before our war! The more the gain, the more rapacious the Taskmaster. In addition, the question of the partition of Upper Silesia is not merely the loss of the industries and the agricultural lands there situated, but their retention is *vital* for German industries. With Alsace in possession of the French, and the Saar district in their control (very soon probably in their actual possession), only Silesia could furnish the necessary coal and iron, and the lack of it means the *collapse of thousands of factories!*"

On reading the above quotations some people will say that the Germans deserve all the suffering they are undergoing. I think that such people have duties as Americans of which they are unconscious. Even should we, for the sake of argument, assume Germany's entire guilt for the war, President Wilson, our official speakers, our press, society in general, proclaimed, during the war: "We have no quarrel with the *German people.* They are the victims of their Imperial government, which we wish to remove that they may be free," etc.

Now the war is over and the Imperial government has passed. Like France and America, Germany has become a Republic. As voting citizens of the United States ought we not to see that the "German people" are saved from destruction?

They surrendered on the terms of the Fourteen Points offered them by our recent President. His betrayal of them is now history! Was our protestation that we had "no quarrel with the German people" equally false?

"The war is over, do let us talk and think of other things!" is the present view point of the public. Ought we however to ignore our national obligation? Is not patriotism involved in peace time? The Central Powers aside, has not the world a critical eye upon us? Are we not inviting the judgment of History?

Looking at the situation from another angle: are we not bringing upon ourselves, by degrees, dangers and misfortunes of which we speak with such frank dread —unrest, revolution, bolshevism?

If the "German people" collapse under the present strain they will fall into revolution, bolshevism and chaos! Misery and disorder will have moved across Europe from the eastern to the western boundaries of the Central Empires. There can be no doubt but that at once France will go under—probably Italy. Who knows where the tide will be stemmed? France will be thrown into chaos for she will lose her markets, the sources of many of her necessities, her indemnities—everything. Even now she is struggling with enormous unrest. Against such continental conditions England could not long hold out. Her present internal situation is already her greatest menace. And where would America be when half the world was seething with disorder, and men struggling for mere self-preservation? Our trade would cease, unemployment would be instantaneous. Poverty and starvation would stalk among us as it stalks today in Germany. Art and science would perish. Our entire social organization would be overthrown.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE BOSTON COMMUNITY CHURCH.

It is a pleasure to review the work of the Community Church this year, for it shows steady growth all along the line. Only those who were a part of its small and discouraging beginnings during the stormy winter months of 1920 can fully appreciate the obstacles which it has successfully overcome and the extent of its present achievement. Although the church is still handicapped by the limitations of its meeting-place, its lack of any headquarters where clubs and classes can be held, its limited financial resources, and an unco-operative press, it continues to make its way steadily into the public mind and to command an ever greater degree of loyalty and devotion from those who believe in its purpose and ideals.

The services have been held at Steinert Hall as usual, beginning October 2. The attendance has shown a marked increase over last year and from month to month during the present season, the average attendance a year ago being 165 and for this season 270. The maximum attendance, 554, crowded our meeting-place to capacity. The weekly collections correspond very closely to the attendance, maintaining an almost steady average of 20 cents a person, a very high percentage indeed, and varying in amount from a minimum of $21 to a maximum of $105.

The gain in membership is less striking, the total number of those who have signed the Church Book being 140, which is 60 more than a year ago, while the number who have signified an interest in our work and a desire to receive our notices is 560.

There have been on sale at the Church each Sunday, copies of Mr. Holmes's and Mr. Randall's sermons, to which have lately been added copies of their most recent books, as well as UNITY and different pamphlets. It is felt that the circulation of this literature is one of the most important features of the Community Church work, and it is gratifying to report $383.00 as the amount sold in money terms.

A collection box for the American Friends' Service Committee was placed at the head of the stairs at Steinert Hall early in December. Since this time $320 has been collected as the contribution of the Community Church to the Friends' relief work in Russia.

Those who have spoken for the Community Church this year are the following: John Haynes Holmes, John Herman Randall, Harvey Dee Brown, Clarence R. Skinner, M. J. Olgin, Algernon S. Crapsey, A. J. Muste, Stephen S. Wise, Dr. T. Hsieh, Harry F. Ward, Charles Fleischer, S. K. Ratcliffe, Edward A. Steiner, George Willis Cooke, Sarah A. Dixon, W. E. B. DuBois, David D. Vaughan and Owen R. Lovejoy.

In the arrangement of our program, we have kept steadily in mind the underlying purpose of the Community Church, which is to bring together men and women of all variations of opinion on a common spiritual basis, to work towards a common social ideal. The Community Church lays its emphasis on those universal spiritual qualities which are common to all humanity, regarding differences of race, class and creed as purely superficial barriers that can be removed by mutual understanding. It is for this reason that we have invited representatives of the Russian, Chinese, Jewish and Negro races, advocates of labor and of different schools of psychological and religious thought, to speak from our platform and why the subjects discussed cover such a wire range from the social, political and race problems of the day to discourses on philosophy and the workings of the human mind. We believe that we must first understand the nature of the problems that face us and the character of the difficulties that lie in the path of a more ideal society, our hope being that fuller understanding will lead not only to a more tolerant spirit but to wise and constructive action.

Two events of special interest in the history of the Church have taken place during the past season. One was the appearance of Dr. Charles Fleischer on our platform last November, with the announcement that he was giving up his "Sunday Commons" and was advising his members to affiliate themselves with the Community Church. Following this gracious act on the part of Dr. Fleischer, we have sent our notices to his mailing list and a number of his members have joined our fellowship.

The second event was a meeting of members on the evening of February 16, at which it was voted that the Community Church become incorporated. A set of by-laws, drafted by the Executive Board, was adopted and officers elected. The charter of the Community Church has since been received, so it now stands on a permanent legal basis.

We have had some unusually interesting week-day meetings during the year, starting last fall with two delightful entertainments at the out-of-town homes of Mrs. Whitman and Mrs. Henderson. Both of these meetings were very well attended and greatly enjoyed. A Supper-Conference on the Sacco-Vanzetti case was held in September, with speaking by Mrs. Rantoul and others; while early in November Dr. Lackland of Denver was our guest and speaker at a Supper at which Mr. Holmes presided and Dr. Lackland told an interesting personal story of the development of his own very live Community Church. A joint Dinner-Meeting with the Boston Ethical Society, planned to give outward sign of the good-will existing between our two organizations, was held the same month, the subject of the evening being "How

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This is not "sensationalism," nor is it a "pro-German" plea! It is a statement of a growing menace from which we should not willfully turn our attention. This appeal must be to those who with the opportunities of education, travel and wealth should be the leaders of the people in a Republic. If, like ostriches, they put their heads in the sand and avoid the unpleasant and unpopular, then, there is no hope! If Americans have had the courage to die for their country on the battle-fields of France, are there not some who have the courage to live for it and face the opposition of unthinking society and the cries of "pro-German"—that most easily hurled mouth-grenade? Those who truly have the welfare of America at heart, her safety tomorrow, will save the "German people" from destruction today!

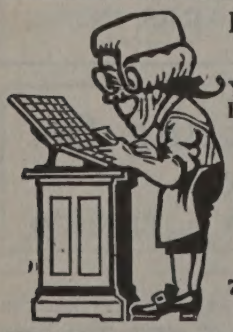
E. AHLBORN.

Can We Improve Our City Government?" On New Year's Eve a large number attended the reception so kindly given by Professor and Mrs. Skinner to our members and friends; and in January, Mrs. Baker offered the hospitality of her home for an entertainment in aid of the New York Community Church Building Fund at which Miss Alice Stone Blackwell and Mrs. Bertha Papazian gave us a delightful evening with the Armenian poets and Mr. Holmes spoke briefly on "The Outlook for the Community Church." As a result of this little gathering, $100 was sent to the New York Church. The most recent meeting was held at the Stuart Club, where Mrs. Lloyd, the founder of the Caney Creek Community Center, Kentucky, and four mountain boys spoke on the remarkable educational work being carried on in this mountain region through the training of leaders among the coming generation.

In addition to these activities, the Community Church has recently co-operated in a course of lectures on "The New Psychology" given by Professor E. C. Wilm of Boston University. Community Church members were granted the opportunity to attend these lectures at a special price, and eighty availed themselves of this privilege. Our thanks are due to Professor Wilm for making this interesting course possible to so many of our members.

Two dramatic programs have been sponsored by the Community Church under the direction of Mrs. Whitman. At the first, Mrs. Whitman's own play "Amos, the Shepherd Prophet," was very beautifully given and was followed by a delightful presentation of Shaw's "Man of Destiny." A large and appreciative audience greeted this performance which netted $75 for the Church. The last program was given the evening of April 4. Those present greatly enjoyed Mme. Conde's beautiful singing and the two plays "In the Fog" and "Aria del Capo," the former written by Dr. William Harvey, a friend of the Community Church. The Community Church certainly owes a debt of gratitude to the actors who gave their time and talent to the presentation of these excellent little plays, and especially to Mrs. Whitman who arranged and carried out the programs and under whose able direction such beautiful and artistic effects were produced.

GERTRUDE L. WINSLOW,
Secretary.



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